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Adoniram Judson's Understanding and Appropriation of Buddhism

Todd Scacewater

Adoniram Judson, one of the earliest American Baptist missionaries, served for many years in Burma. A fascinating and lesser-known aspect of Judson's life is his understanding of the dominant Burmese religion, Buddhism, which was conceptually and linguistically indispensable for his attempts to communicate the gospel.

"His heart's desire and prayer to God is, that *all men may be saved* With this holy affection reigning in his heart, the fervent, devoted Christian presents himself a living sacrifice unto God; and counts it a privilege to do and to suffer any thing for the advancement of his cause."¹ Thus Leonard Woods described the ideal devoted missionary on February 6, 1812 in the ordination sermon of Adoniram Judson. Woods' words would prove to ring true throughout Judson's missionary career, one marked by persecution, torment, anguish, strife, and toil. Yet the progress of the gospel in Burma is the legacy of Judson. He laid a foundation upon which all subsequent missions were built. During his thirty-eight years of missionary labour in Burma, he became an eminent scholar in the field of Buddhism and Bible translation. This paper will sketch a brief biography of Judson's life and subsequently describe his views on Buddhism as they relate to his Christian doctrine.

The Life of Adoniram Judson

Adoniram Judson was born August 9, 1788 as the son of a Congregationalist minister.² He was exceptionally intelligent, publishing two high-quality text books on English grammar and Arithmetic after graduating from Rhode Island Christian College.³ Jacob Eames, a fellow student at college, was influential in Judson's rejection of the gospel.⁴ Ironically, however,

¹ Leonard Woods, *A Sermon Delivered at the Tabernacle in Salem* (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1812), 10.

² Courtney Anderson, *To the Golden Shore: The Life of Adoniram Judson* (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1987), 3, 8.

³ Erroll Hulse, "Adoniram Judson: Devoted for Life," in *Building on a Sure Foundation* (London: Westminster Conference, 1994), 124.

⁴ Hulse, "Adoniram Judson," 124

he was also the means that God used to break down the barriers Judson had erected against faith in Christ. Judson spent a night at an inn next door to a suffering occupant who died that night. In the morning, he discovered that the sufferer was none other than his rationalistic, atheist mentor, Eames.⁵ All his philosophical arguments, derived mostly from Eames, were useless in that moment. He was forced to face the claims of the gospel openly and enrolled in Andover Seminary as a special student since he was not a professing believer.⁶ Here the gospel won him over in December 1808 and by February 1810, he had dedicated himself to missionary service.⁷

Judson was able to persuade the Congregationalists to form the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to support him and four others in missionary efforts to the East.⁸ After marrying his first wife, Ann Hasseltine, on February 5, 1812, the five were commissioned—Judson, Luther Rice, Samuel Newell, Samuel Nott, and Gordon Hall.⁹ The ordination sermon exposited Psalm 67 and charged the men to cooperate with God in spreading the gospel to the nations, thereby bringing the kingdom of God in its fullness, a near expectation.¹⁰ The five men and the wives of those who were married then set out for India on February 19, 1812.¹¹

On the seventeen-week voyage from Boston to Calcutta, Judson developed Baptist convictions regarding baptism over against those of his Congregationalist brothers. This occurred through Judson's study of Scripture alone. He was baptised in Calcutta in the Lal Bazar Chapel.¹² He subsequently sent a letter to the American Board resigning as a funded missionary. He then requested aid from American Baptists, with whom he would work for more than three decades. It was because of Judson's

⁵ Anderson, To the Golden Shore, 44.

⁶ Hulse, "Adoniram Judson," 125.

⁷ William H. Brackney, "The Legacy of Adoniram Judson," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 22, no. 3 (1998): 122.

⁸ Claude V. Roebuck, "Adoniram Judson: A Study in Church History," *JBR* 20, no. 4 (1952): 239.

⁹ Woods, A Sermon, 3.

¹⁰ Woods, A Sermon, 2, 29.

¹¹ John Dowling, ed., *The Judson Offering: Intended as a Token of Christian Sympathy with the Living and a Memento of Christian Affection* (New York: Lewis Colby and Co., 1849), 1.

¹² Randolph Levi Howard, *Baptists in Burma* (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1931), 2.

plea for support and Luther Rice's lobbying at home¹³ that the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions was formed in 1814.¹⁴ Thirty-three years later, Rev. J.B. Jeter, President of the Southern Board of Foreign Missions, addressed Judson's leap of faith in following his scripturally-derived biblical convictions. He commended Judson for resigning from such an affluent, established organisation whose members he knew so intimately to work with a comparatively poor Baptist denomination whose members he had never met.¹⁵ After four months, on June 18, 1812, they landed at Serampore, a few miles from Calcutta. Here they enjoyed the company of William Carey and his associates.¹⁶

Judson departed from Carey and his associates to sail for Rangoon, where they landed on July 13, 1813 and lived until 1824.17 They had planned on trying for Java, but Felix Carey urged them to help revive the failing effort in Burma if their plans failed, which indeed they did.¹⁸ These eleven years were gruelling and surely discouraging for the missionary couple. From 1813-1817, the Judsons spent the majority of their time attempting to master Burmese.¹⁹ After a year and a half, Judson recorded that Burmese is perhaps the most difficult language to learn for a foreigner, except perhaps Chinese. He found himself "very inadequate to communicate divine truth intelligently," and could not recall one instance in which he made a permanent impression when attempting to share such truth with the natives.²⁰ After two years of studying Burmese, he felt himself more proficient in French, which he only studied for a few months earlier in his life.²¹ But his goal was to eventually translate the entire Bible into Burmese, a goal which motivated him to continue the laborious work. More discouraging than the process of acquiring Burmese was his lack of success in preaching and evangelism. It took four years for Judson to gain the hearing of any legitimate inquirer and seven years before Maung

¹³ Rice was forced to return home from India due to a near-fatal illness involving his liver. See Stacy Reuben Warburton, *Eastward! The Story of Adoniram Judson* (New York: Round Table Press, 1937), 60.

¹⁴ Roebuck, "Adoniram Judson," 239.

¹⁵ Dowling, The Judson Offering, 261–262.

¹⁶ Dowling, The Judson Offering, 11.

¹⁷ Howard, Baptists in Burma, 1.

¹⁸ Warburton, Eastward!, 55.

¹⁹ Howard, Baptists in Burma, 29.

²⁰ Howard, *Baptists in Burma*, 30.

²¹ Howard, Baptists in Burma, 31.

Nau, his first convert, placed his faith in Christ in April of 1819.²² In May of 1816, Judson also had to endure the loss of his first child, Roger, at the tender age of eight months.²³ A glimmer of encouragement was seen in Judson's last years at Rangoon in the small church that was forming, eventually consisting of eighteen baptised members. Also, Judson had moved to Ava, landing on January 25, 1820, and had been laying a good foundation for mission work.²⁴ All this progress, however, would be torn from him for a year and seven months, piling misery and pain on top of his previous eleven years of ceaseless toil.

The British had begun military advances in Burma, eventually capturing Rangoon, which led to Burmese officials angrily arresting Judson as a foreign spy for the British government on June 8, 1824.²⁵ While he spent a year and seven months in three different locations, Ann spent all of her energy following Judson wherever he was taken, attending to him as best as she was able and petitioning those in authority to spare his life and release him.²⁶ In the midst of this, on January 26, 1825, the Judsons' first daughter, Maria, was born.²⁷ Ann took care of two adopted Burmese girls along with Maria, allowing Judson to help by laying with the baby whenever the guards would allow it.²⁸ Even more heart-breaking for the couple, Ann's intense efforts to care for her family took a toll on her. Her health was generally too poor to nurse baby Maria-so poor that Ann made presents for the jailors so they would allow Adoniram to carry Maria to indigenous mothers of young children that he might beg them to feed her.²⁹ Although he was eventually released from prison, the two years cost him the life of his beloved Ann (died October 24, 1826) and his new-born Maria (died April 26, 1827), the latter being his only source of consolation for the six months following Ann's death.³⁰

Following his wife's death, Judson commenced a period of unprecedented productivity in preaching, Bible translation, and tract writing.³¹ Nevertheless, because of his deep grief over Ann's death, he

²² Howard, Baptists in Burma, 8.

²³ H.C. Conant, *The Earnest Man: A Memoir of Adoniram Judson* (London: J. Heaton & Son, 1861), 222.

²⁴ Hulse, "Adoniram Judson," 134.

²⁵ Hulse, "Adoniram Judson," 135.

²⁶ Dowling, The Judson Offering, 76-82.

²⁷ Dowling, The Judson Offering, 83.

²⁸ Hulse, "Adoniram Judson," 135.

²⁹ Dowling, The Judson Offering, 106.

³⁰ Dowling, The Judson Offering, 142.

³¹ Roebuck, "Adoniram Judson," 225.

questioned the state of his heart. He thought that such grief as he had was only connected to a sinful selfishness.³² He sought then to achieve a "higher sanctification" by ascetic means in order to starve his sinful desires by retreating into solitude in a small hut in a tiger-infested jungle.³³ Although Judson is criticised by some for his theological dependence upon mystics such as Madam Guyon, Thomas à Kempis, William Law, and others, resulting in a belief in "entire sanctification," his literary productivity during this time was nevertheless extraordinary.³⁴

On January 31, 1834, Judson completed the last leaf of the Burmese Bible, both New Testament and Old Testament. Judson rejoiced at the final achievement of his decade-long project, praying, "May he make his own inspired word, now complete in the Burman tongue, the grand instrument of filling all Burmah [sic.] with songs and praises to our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ! Amen."³⁵ On April 10, 1834, he married his second wife, Sarah Boardman, with whom he had worked for four years until the death of her husband, George Boardman.³⁶ The next eleven years were spent predominantly at Moulmein, the capital of British Burma, under English protection.³⁷ He spent this time preaching in the region, overseeing the printing of the Burmese Bible, revising his own translation, preparing a dictionary of the Burman language, and performing pastoral duties at Moulmein.³⁸

On April 13, 1845, Judson resolved to sail for America for the first time in over thirty years because of the severe illness of his wife, Sarah.³⁹ Although she appeared to be improving along the voyage and even seemed as if she would make a full recovery, she relapsed and died at the port of St. Helena on September 1, 1845.⁴⁰ She died as brave and strong in her faith as his first wife, Ann. "No shade of doubt, or fear, or anxiety, ever passed over her mind. She had a prevailing preference to depart, and be with Christ."⁴¹

³² Roebuck, "Adoniram Judson," 226.

³³ Roebuck, "Adoniram Judson," 227.

³⁴ For criticisms of this period of Judson's life, see Hulse, "Adoniram Judson," 148–50 and Roebuck, "Adoniram Judson," 239–44.

³⁵ Dowling, The Judson Offering, 189.

³⁶ Dowling, The Judson Offering, 147f., 204.

³⁷ Dowling, The Judson Offering, 204.

³⁸ Dowling, The Judson Offering, 204–205.

³⁹ Anderson, To the Golden Shore, 435f.

⁴⁰ Dowling, *The Judson Offering*, 212.

⁴¹ Dowling, *The Judson Offering*, 216.

Judson arrived in Boston on October 15, 1845 and was treated as a modern-day legend. He was the oldest surviving Missionary to the East and the first to be sent out for life.⁴² Several meetings were held with laudatory speeches, tearful greetings, and warm embraces between Judson and his American Baptist brothers, men who had only known him through correspondence. On June 2, 1846, while still in the United States, Judson married Emily Chubbuck, who gave up a promising career in writing Christian literature to serve amongst the Burmese.⁴³

At a farewell service in Boston, Rev. Baron Stow delivered a final charge to Judson:

Go, finish the revision of the Scriptures, and bow before God, as when you completed the translation,—bow, and we will bow with you in thankfulness and joy. Then may we hear of you again at Ava— not a prisoner tracking the desert with your blood, but received as an ambassador of Christ.⁴⁴

In Judson's farewell address, he expressed his desire to see the Bible translated faithfully into all the languages of the world so that the earth might be filled with the joy and glory of God.⁴⁵

Judson spent the rest of his life in Burma in the cities of Moulmein and Rangoon with his wife Emily, who was especially helpful.⁴⁶ He continued his work of strengthening the churches, but the persecution had increased.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, he continued on until his health seriously deteriorated in 1849. Judson died on April 8, 1850 and was buried at sea. He left in his stead a set of Burmese-English and English-Burmese dictionaries, eight Burmese tracts, and his *magnum opus*, the Burmese Bible.⁴⁸ The famous life and work of Judson was propagated by his wife Emily in collaboration with Dr. Francis Wayland, President of Brown University, who completed Judson's official biography in 1853.⁴⁹

⁴² Dowling, *The Judson Offering*, 236.

⁴³ Brackney, "The Legacy of Adoniram Judson," 123.

⁴⁴ Dowling, The Judson Offering, 277.

⁴⁵ Dowling, The Judson Offering, 282.

⁴⁶ Hulse, "Adoniram Judson," 144.

⁴⁷ Anderson, To the Golden Shore, 482.

⁴⁸ La Seng Dingrin, "The Conflicting Legacy of Adoniram Judson: Appropriating and Polemicizing Against Burmese Buddhism," *Missiology* 37, no. 4 (2009): 491, n. 1.

⁴⁹ Anderson, To the Golden Shore, 506.

Adoniram Judson's Understanding of Buddhism

Judson's understanding of Buddhism was superb, but it must be understood in relation to his Christian doctrine and his translation of the Bible. Iudson explicitly labelled Buddhism as "atheistic," "false," "fictitious," "idolatrous," and offering "no escape."50 His tract entitled "The Golden Balance" argues in various ways for the superiority of Christianity over Buddhism, primarily by contrasting the Eternal God of Christianity with the comparably insignificant "God" Gautama of Buddhism. Judson's thesis is two-fold. First, if one desires to know which of two religions is true, he must simply understand that "the [more] excellent is the true" (emphasis original). Secondly, Christianity certainly is "more excellent" than Buddhism in every way.⁵¹ He then systematically assaults all aspects of Buddhist doctrine, arguing that the God of Christianity is superior to Gautama, the Christian Scriptures are more reliable than the Buddhist Scriptures, the commandments of Christianity are superior to the five Buddhist commandments, the Christian system of grace is superior to the Buddhist system of punishment, etc. Judson writes in a very convincing manner, at least as it would appear to a Westerner. It may not be discerned how a Burman Buddhist would have taken to a reading of the tract. Nevertheless, Judson writes eloquently and forcefully, evidencing an extraordinary understanding of Buddhism and evangelistic fervour.

Judson derived his understanding of Buddhism directly from his involvement with the Burmese people, the reading of their literature, and limited amount of examination of ancient Pali sources.⁵² He believed that Buddhism and Hinduism were not two branches of the same religion, as many writers on Eastern religions believed. While they seem similar on the surface because of their common belief in metempsychosis (the transfer of one's soul to another entity upon death), they are actually "directly antagonistic" in almost every other respect. Judson believed that Gautama (Judson's spelling was "Guadama"), the man considered to be the founder of Buddhism, had been a Hindu prince and pagan philosopher who was born around 544 BC. He did not believe Gautama actually founded Buddhism, but believes he was born into a kind of proto-

⁵⁰ Dingrin, "The Conflicting Legacy of Adoniram Judson," 486.

⁵¹ Adoniram Judson, "The Golden Balance," in Francis Wayland, A Memoir of the Life and Labors of the Rev. Adoniram Judson, D. D. (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Company, 1853), 448.

⁵² The information in this paragraph is indebted to Francis Wayland, *Memoir*, 407–408.

Buddhism, to which he gave substance and life which it had retained up until Judson's time. The Buddhist Scriptures were not written for 458 years after Gautama's death and probably do not accurately record his original teachings. The system itself was completely atheistic. Any Buddhist who believed in a higher power acknowledged to Judson that their views were slightly speculative. Although Buddhism is a religion that deals out justice in the form of rewards and punishments, there is no moral governor of the universe. Rather, justice is dispensed by "the ceaseless turnings of the 'unerring wheel of fate." Even Gautama, hailed as the Supreme Buddha, suffered the punishment of sins from his previous life. Judson believed "nigban"53 to be nothing short of total annihilation of one's existence. Once one has reached nigban, he is completely "devoid of sensation, passion, emotion, and thought." Gautama, who has reached nigban, is not even cognisant of his own worshippers, nor can he bless them in any way. Nigban is the only unchanging status of "existence," and therefore it is the "only true good."

Judson's soteriological convictions were firmly Calvinistic, which warded off any tendency toward a universalistic understanding of salvation for the unevangelised. His Calvinistic convictions are apparent in a sermon he preached on John 10:10–18.⁵⁴ He teaches unconditional election in one point of his sermon, stating that only the hearts of the elect will be penetrated by the invitation of mercy and love.⁵⁵ In the same sentence, he balances his understanding of unconditional election by asserting that one must "lift up his voice to all, without discrimination," exhorting them to accept this invitation. Judson certainly fell in line with his Calvinistic brothers in an exclusivist understanding of Christianity,⁵⁶ believing those

⁵³ "*Nigban*" is the Burmese equivalent of the Sanskrit "*nirvana*," the goal toward which every Buddhist strives, the end of their religion. See Dingrin, "The Conflicting Legacy of Adoniram Judson," 487.

⁵⁴ This sermon, the only one in English he ever preached in Burma, was delivered at the ordination of the Rev. S.M. Osgood in Maulmain on May 10, 1836 and is recorded by Wayland, *Memoir*, 486.

⁵⁵ Wayland, *Memoir*, 490. Although this could still be affirmed by an Arminian if they defined "elect" the way they wanted, it is clear from the context that Judson is Calvinistic in his understanding of the elect.

⁵⁶ Baptist history attests that General Baptists were prone to the inclusivist error of universalism while the Particular Baptists were prone to the exclusivist error of hyper-Calvinism. General Baptists could therefore be either inclusivist or exclusivist, but an inclusivist Particular Baptist would be virtually unheard of. If Judson had fallen into an error, it would have been hyper-Calvinism and he would have remained exclusivist in his soteriology—he simply would not have ruined his American comforts to bring them the gospel.

without the gospel to be lost with no hope of salvation apart from a preacher (cf. Rom 10:13–15).⁵⁷ Thus, Judson's understanding of the Burmese, most of whom had not heard anything of the gospel, was that they were perishing without hope of salvation apart from evangelisation.

Judson's eschatological outlook was post-millennial. He consequently believed that Buddhism as a religion would become eradicated within one hundred years by the advancement of the kingdom of God across the East.⁵⁸ This eschatological view probably developed through his education at Andover Seminary, if not also from his early nineteenthcentury Congregationalist brothers. Leonard Woods, Professor of Christian Theology at Andover, preached the ordination sermon for Judson *et al.* At the conclusion of the sermon, Woods proclaims that God will "soon destroy all idol worship" and that the knowledge of the Lord will soon cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. He then offers to Judson and his associates the privilege of aiding God in this task of converting the nations, a work which "he has reserved to these 'last, *best* days'" (emphasis original).⁵⁹ Judson certainly applied his eschatology to his calling and truly believed that he would be an instrument in God's complete demolition of Buddhism in Burma.

Despite Judson's exclusivist Christian position and his denunciation of Buddhism as an utterly false and lost religion, Buddhism was indispensable for Judson's missionary purposes. Burmese language and culture developed in conjunction with Therevada Buddhism, a process probably begun about AD 1057, when King Anawrahta conquered lower Burma and brought to the royal city of Bagan the three groups of sacred Therevada Buddhist texts, the Pali *Tipitaka*.⁶⁰ For this reason, the Burmese language and culture were inseparable from religious language and ideas. Judson therefore was forced to appropriate Buddhist language into his tracts and Bible translations in order to make Christianity intelligible to the Burmese. Between the two tracts "A View of the Christian Religion" and "The Golden Balance," Judson adapted at least eighty Burmese and

⁵⁷ So also, Dingrin, "The Conflicting Legacy of Adoniram Judson," 494, n. 23; Hulse, "Adoniram Judson," 145f., who states, "supreme in Judson's mind was an unwavering belief that all those who die in their sins outside of Christ will suffer eternal misery in hell."

⁵⁸ So, Dingrin, "The Conflicting Legacy of Adoniram Judson," 486; Ann shared the same post-millennial outlook and similarly declared the imminent demise of Buddhism (see Wayland, *Memoir*, 417).

⁵⁹ Woods, A Sermon, 29.

⁶⁰ Dingrin, "The Conflicting Legacy of Adoniram Judson," 492, n. 7.

Buddhist terms to create a Christian vocabulary.⁶¹ According to La Seng Dingrin, these terms were so vital to Buddhism and Burmese culture that key concepts of Christianity such as God, religion, grace, etc. could not be expressed apart from their Pali and Pali-derived alternatives.⁶² Note the words of Judson himself: "Pali is indispensible [sic.] to one who would acquire a perfect knowledge of the Burman [Burmese], and especially to a missionary, who intends to translate the Scriptures ... to be perfectly acquainted with the terms he employs."⁶³ Thus Judson's attitude toward Buddhism was inherently conflicting. While it was a false religious system that was leading millions to eternal misery in hell, he recognised it as necessary in order to propagate the message of Christianity in Burma.

One final consideration is that Buddhism may have had an effect, even if only for a time, on Judson's Christian belief and praxis. The dark time during Judson's life following Ann and Maria's death, as mentioned earlier, was spent in seclusion, practicing asceticism. His ascetic practices included (1) rejecting a doctorate conferred upon him by Brown University, (2) ordering his sister to destroy all the letters from him that she and their mother had kept, (3) destroying official letters from the British government which commended him for his work during the war, and (4) digging a grave near his hut in the jungle in order to look into it often and contemplate his own death.⁶⁴ Both Erroll Hulse and Claude Roebuck believe this was due to Judson's reading of Catholic mystics who espoused this sort of behaviour in order to reach a higher sanctification, but Roebuck also suggests the possibility that Judson's immersion in a Buddhist culture may have been a contributor. Although suggesting the idea, he says that there is "no evidence for this influence of Buddhism on Judson."65 However, there may be some merit in the idea. Buddhism espoused a detachment from the things of this world in order to reach a higher, enlightened state, even if this "higher" state involved total annihilation. It may have been that Judson recognised the similarities between Christian and Buddhist practice and, consciously or unconsciously, appropriated devotional practices that were common to both. Extreme asceticism may be found in some branches of Christianity and is essential to Buddhism. Although, as Roebuck correctly concludes, it is impossible to know whether or not this is the case, it seems likely that a

⁶¹ Dingrin, "The Conflicting Legacy of Adoniram Judson," 487.

⁶² Dingrin, "The Conflicting Legacy of Adoniram Judson," 487.

⁶³ Dingrin, "The Conflicting Legacy of Adoniram Judson," 489.

⁶⁴ Roebuck, "Adoniram Judson," 243; Hulse, "Adoniram Judson," 140.

⁶⁵ Roebuck, "Adoniram Judson," 242.

lonely missionary, forever estranged from his homeland and who recently lost his entire family, could have easily assumed part of the identity of the Burmese culture surrounding him. Fortunately, at the end of his period of depression and seclusion, a new Judson appeared. He was invigorated by his marriage to Sarah and his new children, apparently abandoning his extreme asceticism that seemingly led him no further in his search for higher sanctification.⁶⁶

Conclusion

The life of Adoniram Judson has left a legacy that has deeply impacted not only Baptist life, but also the global effort of worldwide evangelisation and missions. His deep desire for the gospel of Christ to be known and accepted by all led him through the many trials and sorrows of his life. Although he may not be remembered for his expertise in Buddhism, one should recognise his skill as a missionary to acquire and master the language and then effectively to preach polemically against the dominant religion of the country. One should also learn from Judson what it is to be devoted to a single cause, that Christ and his glories would be known and cherished by the world, so that the glory of God would cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.

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⁶⁶ Roebuck, "Adoniram Judson," 243.